

77-36011
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10 February 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: E. H. Knoche  
ADCI

SUBJECT : Human Rights

*Cord Meyer  
designated -  
Adci received  
Dr. Brzezinski's  
approval  
2/15/77*

The memorandum attached, which you need not read in full, describes an inter-departmental meeting chaired by Brzezinski on Human Rights. There was inconclusive discussion of the withholding of FY-78 foreign military sales items from offending countries. Suggestions were requested for other options to demonstrate U.S. concern for Human Rights. The problem of a double standard in U.S. Human Rights policy between communist and non-communist countries was also aired.

Of special interest to us is a Presidential Review Memorandum on Human Rights which is expected soon.

--Similar intra-Agency meetings are likely to be called in the future.

--Pending the issuance of the PRM, no tasks were assigned.

CIA's participant, Robert Gates, suggests that CIA designate a senior officer to represent it at special meetings, and to coordinate Agency participation in preparation at the PRM as well as ongoing intelligence support

--since this is likely to involve both the DDI and DDO,

--since our representation should be at a senior level,

--since this is a subject very high on the Carter Administration's agenda,

I recommend that you name Cord Meyer as the Agency's Human Rights officer in addition to his present duties. Cord can take on more work, he works well with both the DDI and DDO and he reports directly to you.

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If you concur, I recommend that you announce this at the Morning Meeting after we receive the PRM.

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Approve



E.H. Knoche, ADCI

2/14/77  
Date

Disapprove

E.H. Knoche, ADCI

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

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77-3603

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

SA/DDCI/CMeyer:as (15 Feb 77)

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15 February 1977

Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski  
Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Zbig:

In line with our conversation, this is to inform you that I have appointed Cord Meyer, Jr., Special Assistant to the Deputy Director, to be the Agency's principal referent on matters concerning Human Rights in the international field and he will be your point of contact in the Agency for support on this subject.

X1 He may be reached on [redacted] and is located in Room 6D52,  
Headquarters Building.

Faithfully yours,

[redacted]  
E. H. Knoche  
Acting Director

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cc: Ms. Jessica Tuchman  
National Security Council Staff

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## ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

DD/072-1157

FROM:	EXTENSION	NO.	Executive Registry	
			DATE	RECEIVED
DDO			10 February 1977	11-36017
TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment):	
1. ADCI			We have checked with Bob Gates who was the Agency representative at the first interagency meeting called by Dr. Brzezinski, to consider U.S. policy on human rights. Gates was apparently chosen to represent the Agency because of his past NSC service, rather than by virtue of his current assignment which is concerned with Soviet/East European affairs. Since the charter meeting, Gates has talked to [redacted] of our Foreign Liaison Branch and alerted him to what is apparently going to be a continuing requirement from the NSC for intelligence on violations of human rights by foreign governments and evidences of responses to actions taken by the U.S. Government to encourage a more enlightened human rights policy. At the present time, there is no Agency action required. The NSC is drafting the PRM regarding human rights which is scheduled to be completed this week when it will be sent to the Agency for coordination. At that time, it might be more appropriate to center this coordination function within the DDO.	
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cc: ADDO

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DDI-487-77

3 February 1977

Executive Registry  
77-360

MEMORANDUM FOR: E. H. Knoche  
Acting Director of Central Intelligence  
Sayre Stevens  
Deputy Director for Intelligence  
William Wells  
Deputy Director for Operations

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THROUGH : [redacted] Acting Director, Center for Policy Support

FROM : Robert Gates [redacted]  
Soviet and East European Affairs, Center for  
Policy Support

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SUBJECT : Brzezinski Meeting on Human Rights

Summary

1. Dr. Brzezinski and Jessica Tuchman, NSC Staff Member for Global Issues, convened an interdepartmental meeting on 2 February to discuss translating the President's commitment to promoting human rights abroad into "consistent and responsible" action. A list of participants is attached. In his opening remarks, Brzezinski referred to recent "complications" (the State Department pronouncements on Czechoslovakia and the USSR), but said that the President specifically told Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin last week that the US would be raising such issues again in the future.

2. After lengthy discussion, summarized below, the following major points emerged:

--A Presidential Review Memorandum concerning human rights probably will be issued this week. It will direct an examination of immediate actions the Administration can take to signal its intentions to the Congress and foreign states with respect to human rights and foreign policy, and will call for a longer range study reviewing all the issues, complications and options relating to human rights considerations and measures in framing US foreign policy.

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The first part of the study will have a very short deadline, probably next week. The second will be due in March or April.

--No tasks were assigned at the meeting pending issuance of the PRM. While State, Commerce and Treasury will have the leading role in responding to both parts of the PRM, CIA probably will have a part to play primarily in the longer range study.

--Following the meeting, Dr. Tuchman indicated to me that, at the outset, the Agency might give attention in its reporting to human rights problems and conditions abroad and probably will have a role in the PRM and other inter-agency forums in analyzing the effectiveness of measures under consideration or already taken. She admitted that a clearer role probably will emerge as the Administration's policy develops.

--Tuchman said that the importance the White House attaches to the human rights question abroad is demonstrated by the President's designation of Brzezinski as the White House contact on foreign human rights questions, a position filled in recent years by domestic advisers such as David Lissky, Myron Kuropas and Leonard Garment.

--Brzezinski told the participants that similar inter-agency meetings are likely to be called in the future for discussion of human rights issues and US policy. (It would seem appropriate for CIA to designate a senior officer to serve as the Agency's representative at these meetings, and to coordinate Agency participation in preparation of the PRM and subsequent intelligence support.)

The Discussion

3. Discussion at the meeting centered on three problems: how to proceed organizationally, signals to the Congress versus effective action abroad in promoting human rights, and the necessity of making a distinction in our human rights policy between Communist and non-Communist states.

How to Proceed

4. A key consideration determining the need for prompt action is that final decisions on the FY 78 FMS (foreign military sales) budget--the most convenient and obvious means to signal both the Congress and foreign countries of Administration intentions vis-a-vis human rights--must be made within

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two weeks. Therefore, there was general agreement that any study must involve examination both of short-term options and a longer-range, comprehensive review of the problem. Brzezinski and Tuchman left us with the impression that a PRM will be issued in a day or so calling for proposed options for action within five to ten days. The PRM will also call for a longer range study of the problem to be due later in the spring.

Signals to Congress Versus Effective Action Abroad

5. This subject dominated the meeting, with the NSC Staff more concerned for the near term with signalling the Congress of serious Administration intentions than with effective action abroad. The most obvious means proposed to send such signals immediately is to cut the FY 78 FMS budgets of offending countries, although Brzezinski was interested in other options.

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Several participants pointed out that FMS cuts would have little effect in the countries concerned and, in fact, could prove counterproductive--for example, in Korea. Others expressed concern that cutting FMS would neither satisfy the Congress nor be effective abroad.

7. The NSC representatives asked for options other than cutting FMS to demonstrate our concern for human rights and there was some discussion of juggling PL-480

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funds, economic assistance and multilateral initiatives. Representatives from State and the US Mission to the UN urged a serious effort to obtain US ratification of the Genocide Treaty and the International Covenants on Human Rights, as well as repeal or amendment of the Byrd Amendment. These, they argued, would be effective, early signals to the Congress that would buy time for study of the problem and US options in a rational way. It was agreed that the PRM would address these and other possible options.

Human Rights Policy Toward Communist Versus Non-Communist States

8. The NSC Staff was concerned about the existence of a double standard in US human rights policy between Communist and non-Communist countries--i.e., that we take firm action against non-Communist countries while merely tut-tutting Communist states. The State Department participants asserted that, in fact, there is no pressure from the Congress to have a single approach to both Communist and non-Communist countries and that there is recognition on the Hill of the existence of a double standard. State contended that public pressure or actions against the USSR would doom to failure efforts to promote human rights there. Kempton Jenkins, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, added that there is considerable disenchantment in the Congress with the Jackson/Vanik Amendment and a desire to find a way out of the problems it has created. (Tuchman noted that the President has made no decision whether to break with the Jackson/Vanik Amendment, although he has decided to go "all-out" on the Byrd Amendment.) The discussion of this aspect of the human rights problem closed on an inconclusive note.

ATTACHMENT: h/w

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**PARTICIPANTS**

**INFORMAL INTERAGENCY MEETING ON**

**HUMAN RIGHTS**

**February 2, 1977**

**NSC**

Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski  
Dr. Jessica Tuchman  
Capt. Robert Kimmitt

**OMB**

Edward Sanders, Deputy Associate Director for International Affairs

**STATE**

Denis Lamb, Executive Assistant in the Deputy Secretary's Office  
Richard Ericson, Deputy Director Politico-Military Affairs  
Kempton Jenkins, Acting Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations  
Sandra Vogelgesang, Member Policy Planning Staff  
James Lawenstein, Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs  
William Leurs, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Inter-American Affairs  
Ernest Preeg, Deputy Assistant Secretary, International Finance  
and Development  
Richard Holbrook, Assistant Secretary of East Asian Affairs  
Patricia Darrian, Prospective Candidate for Coordinator for Human  
Rights and Humanitarian Affairs  
William Gleysteen, Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asian and  
Pacific Affairs  
James M. Wilson, Coordinator for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affrs.  
Capt. James M. Patton, Member Policy Planning Staff  
Ann Holloway, IO

**TREASURY**

Fred Bergsten, Assistant Secretary Designate for International Affrs.  
Dick Erb, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Developing Nations

**COMMERCE**

Frank Weil, Assistant Secretary Designate for Domestic &  
International Business  
Arthur Downey, Deputy Assistant Secretary for East-West Trade  
Charles L. Haslam, General Counsel Designate

CIA

Dr. Robert Gates, Center for Policy Support

DEFENSE

Brig. Gen. James M. Thompson, Office of Policy Plans, ISA

JCS

Rear Admiral Samuel H. Packer,  
Col. Edwin M. Anderson

AID

Philip Birnbaum, Assistant Administrator for Programs and Policy

USIA

Walter Bastian, Deputy Director for Policy & Plans

UN

Brady Tyson

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FEB

**EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT**

**Routing Slip**

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3	D/DCI/IC				
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6	DDA				
7	DDO				
8	D/DCI/NI			✓	
9	GC				
10	LC				
11	IG				
12	Compt				
13	D/Pers				
14	D/S				
15	DTR				
16	Asst/DCI				
17	AO/DCI				
18	C/IPS				
19	DCI/SS				
20	D/EEO				
21	[REDACTED]			✓	
22	[REDACTED]				
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Remarks:

Executive Secretary  
*[Signature]*